H.C. Burleigh Papers

Heck

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15 pages

Barbara Heck

by

W. H. Withrow

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Palatines who went to Ireland settled near Rathkeale, in Limerick County. Each person received a grant of eight acres, young and old, for which the government paid rent for twenty years.

Contemporary list of this group shows such familiar names as Embury, Heck, Ruckle, Switzer & others.

Visited by John Wesley in 1758.

Barbara Heck born in this district in 1734. Her maiden name, Ruckle, was given to Ruckle Hill, the family residence in Ballingarrane. She joined the church in her eighteenth year.

Party set out from Custom-House Quay, Limerick, Ireland in spring of 1760. Those mentioned were Barbara and her husband, Paul Heck, and Philip Embury and his wife, Mary, aged 18. This last couple had been married two years previously.

From the vessel they could the top of Brandon Hill in the sunshine.

Many weeks later they arrived in New York harbor.

Embury obtained employment as house-carpenter and joiner. He acted as class leader and local preacher

Two years later another company of Palatine emigrants arrived in New York in the autumn. Among them were Paul Ruckle, Barbara's brother, Jacob Heck, her brother-in-law, + other old neighbors and friends.

After reproving some of the group for playing cards, her brother, Thomas Ruckle, among them, she went to her cousin, Philip Embury, and appealed to him to resume his preaching to the Palatine group from Ireland.

Thus, with a group of four, Barbara Heck, her husband Paul, John Lawrence, his hired man, and an African servant called "Betty," this group was organized into a Methodist "class," and continued weekly meetings.

One day the class was augmented by Capt. Thomas Webb, who had served at the capture of Louisburg where he lost his right eye and was one of the first to scale the heights to the Plains of Abraham at the conquest of Quebec where he was severely wounded. Captain Webb was at present serving as Barrack Master at Albany when he first heard of the infant "class" in New York.

This "class" increased so greatly that new quarters had to be obtained. The "class" then removed to an old rigging loft in William Street. The naked rafters of the roof still remained uncovered. A tarry smell clung to the walls. An old ship's figurehead — a "gypsy king" with gilded crown, supposed to represent ~~of~~ one of the Eastern Magi — supported the pulpit and formed an excellent reading desk. Preaching by Embury & Webb.

The old rigging loft soon became too small to hold the congregation. "The old rigging loft which held the germ of the mighty growth of Methodism in America, like a flower-pot in which an oak was planted, soon became too small for such rapid expansion." So a new church was planned. A site on John Street, now in the very heart of the business portion of the city, surrounded by the banks of Wall Street and the palaces of trade of Broadway, was procured, and a chapel of stone, faced with blue plaster, was in course of time erected. As Dissenters were not allowed to erect "regular churches" in the city, in order to avoid the penalties of the law it was provided with a fireplace and chimney. Its interior, though

long unfinished, was described as "very neat and clean, and the floor sprinkled over with sand as white as snow." "Embury, being a skilled carpenter, wrought diligently upon its structure; and Barbara Heck, rejoicing in the work of her hands, helped to whitewash the walls." "There were at first no stairs or breastwork to the gallery; it was reached by a rude ladder. The seats on the ground floor were plain benches without backs. Embury constructed with his own hands its pulpit; and on the memorable 30th of October, 1768, mounted the desk he had made, and dedicated the humble temple he had made to the worship of God. It received the name of 'Wesley Chapel', and was the first in the world to receive that honored name.

Within two years we hear of at least a thousand hearers crowding the chapel and the space in front. It has been more than once reconstructed since then, but a portion of the first building is still visible. A wooden clock, brought from Ireland by Philip Embury, still marks the hours of worship. Marble tablets on the walls commemorate the names and virtues of Barbara Heck and Embury.

In 1770, Embury with Paul & Barbara Heck and other Palatine Methodists, removed to Salem, Washington County, New York. Previous to his leaving his recent spiritual charge, the trustees of Wesley Chapel presented him, in the name of the congregation, the sum of two pounds and five shillings, "for the purchase of a Concordance, as a memento of his pastoral connection with them (this Concordance is now in the library of the Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal).

Embarking in a small river sloop on the broad bosom of the Hudson, these pioneers of Methodism made their way

slowly up that noble stream. Its stately banks, not then as now adorned with elegant villas, were almost in a state of nature. The lowering Palisades reared their wall of rock, and the lofty Crownest, and Storm-King, and romantic Catskills were clothed in foliage to the very top. They sailed on past the quaint Dutch town of Albany, and the site of the present city of Troy, then a wilderness. A couple of ox-teams conveyed the settlers from the river to their new homes on the fertile meadows of the Paulet River. This now flourishing and populous part of the country was then a wilderness.

Embury continued his labors as a faithful local preacher, and soon among the sparse and scattered population of settlers was formed a "class" . . .

He received, while mowing in his field in the summer of 1775 so severe an injury that he died suddenly at the early age of forty-five. He lies buried in the cemetery at Ashbury, N.Y.

On the outbreak of the Revolutionary War the Irish Palatines maintained their allegiance to the old flag by removing to Canada. The journey was made in two rude-looking unwieldy bateaux. The group included Paul and Barbara Heck and their five children, two girls aged 10 and 2 respectively, and 3 boys from 3 to 9; Mary Embury, Philip's widow and her children, and John Lawrence. In the other boat were Peter Switzer and Joel Dulmage with their wives and children

Travelling down the river all day they reached the South Bay of Lake Champlain by sunset. Here they landed on the site of the present Whitehall, N.Y., & stayed the night. The next day they proceeded down

the bay, passing Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Day after day the journey continued down Lake Champlain. On the afternoon of the third day they ran into a sudden thunderstorm. This they survived and after a strenuous struggle reached Isle-aux-Noix. Here they found a British outpost in a log block-house. From thence they were guided by a corporal down the Richelieu River to its entrance. Proceeding to Sorel they later re-embarked & finally arrived at Montreal and were given accommodation in the Blanche Croix Inn, operated by Jean Baptiste La Farge (This appears to have been before the American attack on Canada in 1775.) These people were in Montreal when the Americans attacked in Sept., 1775. Paul Heck demurred & would not enlist in the defence of the country. Lawrence, on the other hand, volunteered and saw service at St Johns in October of that year and was in Montreal when that city was captured by Montgomery and retreated to Quebec with Gov. Carleton, where he participated in that city's defence. The others remained in Montreal until Spring when the Americans retired to the south. John Lawrence was a militiaman in the first party of British to arrive in Montreal from Quebec. He apparently had joined a Scottish company as he was wearing a Glengarry bonnet.

In the spring of 1777 John Lawrence & Philip Embury's widows were married in Montreal by the military chaplain in the little English church. This was the first marriage celebrated in this church. Shortly after two daughters of Philip Embury, aged 12 & 8, died.

At the close the war, this group, with other Methodists

from the Irish Palatines, sought homes with other Loyalists up the river from Montreal. After a week's strenuous labor they arrived at Matilda where they drew their lots.

"In the house of John & Mary Lawrence, the widow of Philip Embury, a class-meeting was organized forthwith, of which Samuel Embury, a promising young man, walking in the footsteps of his sainted father, was the first leader. Among the first members were Paul & Barbara Heck; and the names of their three sons were recorded on its roll."
Thus the germ of Canadian Methodism was planted by these memorable families first of our years before Lossee's arrival (in 1790).

Katharine Heck, youngest child of Paul & Barbara, married Reynald, younger son of Col. Isaac Pemberton.

In midsummer, 1790 Wm Lossee, then 26 yrs of age, arrived at the Hecks. He preached the following day. The next day he departed for the Bay of Quinte.

Claims first Canadian camp-meeting under Rev. Davies Dunham

"Upon the fertile shores of the beautiful Bay of Quinte a little company of Palatines, an off-shoot from that of the Heck community had settled. Here at Bay Bay Adolphustown, a deep inlet from the larger bay, Reynald Pemberton had the distinguished honor of causing the erection of the first Methodist meeting-house in Upper Canada. The new chapel was a barn-like wooden structure, thirty-six feet by thirty, two stories high, with galleries, which still exists in a tolerable state of preservation. Upon this Reynald wrought with his own hands. On the subscription list, which is still extant, may be deciphered the blurred and fading signatures

of a younger generation of Emburys, Ruckles and other godly Palatines whose memory is forever associated with the introduction of Methodism to this continent and to this Dominion."

28 May, 1962.

Dear Mrs. Lapp:

I hasten to reply to your most recent letter, as I fully realize that your time is getting short. I also hasten to reply because you have asked so many questions that I shall need some time to reply.

First, let me say that, as you suspected, my main interest has been the Bay of Quinte settlers. I have scanned and copied much from the Haldimand Papers--the only really authentic story of the Loyalists. I have copied several references to Paul Heck, et al. However, they are very likely incomplete. But, I shall give them to you later in this letter.

In order to bring order out of chaos, insofar as our ancstors are concerned, particularly regarding the early years of the American Revolution is concerned, one must know something of the situation in what is now Canada. You will remember that the Rebels determined, early in 1775, to conquer Quebec province. For this purpose they sent an army against Quebec, the key to the province, travelling from Maine directly to that city. At the same time an army invaded Canada by way of Lake Champlain. This army was to join with the besiegers at Quebec, thus to crush British resistance. You will realize that, except for the Citadel of Quebec, all North America was dominated by the Rebels. The repulse of the Americans and the death of Montgomery at the walls of Quebec was the beginning of the end, insofar as the Rebels was concerned. The arrival of a British fleet, with reinforcements in the spring of 1776, caused a rapid retreat of the Rebels, both into Maine and up the St. Lawrence and Richelieu Rivers. Carleton followed the latter forces. Montreal was freed in June, and Carleton pressed up the Richelieu and across Lake Champlain after the Rebels. By October, Crown Point had been retaken and the Rebels were shivering in Ticonderoga. Thus ended the Campaign of 1776.

As far as my inerpretation of the situation goes, the only so-called Loyalist activities are concerned with three phases. They were:

1. Retreat of Col. Guy Johnson with the Iroquois Indians to the westward out of the influence of the Rebels.
2. Retreat through the woods, in May-June in 1776, of Sir Johnson and about two hundred of his followers of both sexes and all ages. The men were officially formed into the Kings Royal Regiment of New York at Montreal on 19 June, 1776.
3. Unofficial mustering of those groups which were to become Butler's Rangers.
4. Secret preparations for enrollment of other Loyalists-to-be, which culminated in small groups which fled to Crown Point, to offer themselves to Carleton. As Crown Point was not occupied by Carleton until October, 1776, I question very much that any other group than those outlined in Nos. 1 & 2, above, made any move to reach the British in Canada. I found evidence that about a hundred men from north of Albany, led by the Jessup brothers, reached Crown Point in November, 1776. There may have been others, such as those you wrote of, from Vermont, but none earlier.
   Haldimand Papers indicate, by nominal roll, that the Jessup people, nucleus of the King's Loyal Americans of 1777, were wintered at Chateauguay during 1776-77. It is certain that their womenfolk did NOT go along.

With the Rebels in the saddle, the Loyalists-to-be had little to do but bite their nails in impatience. However, word had gone out by the grape-vine that enlistment would be welcomed. Each community was to enlist under their leading man, or men. Each such leader, as an encouragement, was to become an officer in accordance to the number of men under his immediate command. I suppose that there were dozens of such groups--of five, of ten, twenty, fifty, a hundred and more. In most cases even the officers, or leaders, had no military experience. In some cases they were Justices of the Peace, Bailiff, land clerk, etc., etc. But in all there was the urge to obtain a commission, even though there was no qualification except for the number of his followers. Naturally, the British could not authorize several dozen units. Therefore, there developed a campaign to steal, or persuade recruits to desert, or for small groups to amalgamate.

As a result of this situation, a few larger military units emerged. Capt. Samuel McKay, whose name appears in your letter, formed a Company of sufficient strength, and with an experienced officer at its head. However, Haldimand decreed that it should accompany Major St. Leger's party in its campaign against Fort Stanwix, and to be nominally under St. Leger's command. McKay balked at this and refused to co-operate. He had been an officer in the 60th Reg't at the Battle of Quebec, 1759, and felt himself qualified to have charge of an independent unit. He, therefore, resigned and went with Burgoyne as a volunteer.

When Burgoyne opened his advance towards Albany in the Spring of 1777, he had perhaps two hundred and fifty Loyalist recruits. These he officially formed into the King's Loyal Americans under Jessup. But, before he had gone beyond Fort Ticonderoga, dozens of groups came in. By June 25, he had unofficially formed Peters' Queen's Loyal Rangers, and Col. Pfisters' Corps. There was likely that of McAlpine's. But, you are interested in the first two. These two units--Peters' & Pfisters'--went with Col. Baum on his expedition against Bennington, where they were defeated. Pfister was killed, and Peters lost many men by death, capture and desertion. Both units were only partly armed and without uniforms. Peters never regained command of his men. He was demoted to captain of the Incalid Company, and attached to Jessup's. Pfister's unit was turned over to Capt. McKay, and were called McKay's Volunteer Company. When McKay died in 1779, Leake became its commander. I very much question if these two units were at Saratoga as fighting men. Your letter would indicate that they were used in various duties--boat-building, bridge-building, conducting, guiding and pioneering. With this I agree.

As you may already know, the Loyalists were given the opportunity, before the Capitulation at Saratoga, Oct. 15, to retreat as they could to Canada. Even those who could not make it appear to have been the opportunity after the surrender. One stipulation in the surrender was that they were not to serve again during the war. It was for this reason that, for the period 1777 to 1781, they were referred to as nominally under the command of Sir John Johnson, even though they were formed, in many records, as part of their original unit. Sir John was nominally their commander for administrative purposes only. In 1781, when the Rebels had failed to live up to their part of the terms of Saratoga in 1777, the remnants of the 1777 Loyalist units were again prepared, by units, as fighting forces. As a result, we have Sir John's 2nd Battalion, Jessup's Loyal Rangers, the King's Rangers, the Royal Highland Regiment, all of which took part in the Settlement after the Peace.

The C. V. men may have gone to Carleton in Oct., 1776, at Crown Point. Of this I have no record. My first indication of their presence is in a Subsistence List of Peters' Queen's Loyal Rangers of June 25, 1777, likely the date of its formation as a unit. Those shown as having joined on that date are

Lt.-Col. John Peters
Capt Justus Sherwood
Lieut. Edward Carscallen
Sgt. Garret Miller

With this group are many familiar names--Valentine & Peter Detlor, Paul Heck, John Lawrence, Andrew and John Embury, John and James Carscallen. I assume that Edward Carscallen was leader of the C. V. group, with Garret Miller as Sergeant. This group being small, they united with Sherwoods men to form his Company of Peters' Corps. The list goes on to show that they formed part of a very large group which left Peters' control on the 22nd August, 1777. Why they did so I am not sure. It likely was that officially Peters' Corps was broken up for other duty and under other command. Where, or what M. Bay is I do not know. It might have been Missisquoi Bay, but not because some of them were to settle there. This settlement did not take place until years after the close of the War. The first warrant for a survey of the Eastern Townships was not made until 1791.

A bright thought has just entered my mind. The 'M. Bay' is likely referring to 'McKay's Coy.' I say this because I have before me a Subsistence List, 3 Sept. to 24 Oct., 1777, for McKay's Loyal Volunteers. It has

Lieut. Edward Carscallen
Sgt. John "
David Dulmage
John Hogle
Paul Hicks discharged 24 June, 1778, present in Canada.
Peter Detlor " do do
(Note: Detlor was discharged as having the 'Falling Sickness.' Likely Heck was medically unfit also)

So, it likely was that the large group which left Peters' Corps on the 22 Aug. were transfers to McKay, to which was added the men of the late Col. Pfister, in order to form the Loyal Volunteers, which McKay commanded until his death in 1779, only to be followed as officer commanding by Capt. Leake, and ultimately absorbed into other units on the reformation in 1781.

As to the fate of the Hecks, I have these:

This name first appears on the Subsistence lists, as a family, in October, 1779, at Montreal. Paul then was not a soldier. The family continued at Montreal until the last list in Sept., 1784. He was then listed as a farmer, with wife and 3 children. An added note reads, "Intends going on the King's land in the Spring." In other words, the Heck family was in Montreal from Oct., 1779 to the Spring of 1785, after which they settled in Augusta.

There is another undated list of Artificers in Capt. White's Co. of Loys., which includes Paul Hicks. This is likely not an official military unit, but rather civilians employed under an officer.

There is also a list of "Poor Distressed Loyalists belonging to the late Mr. Pfister's Corps, dated 27 July, 1778. It lists Peter Miller, Peter Detlor, Paul Hicks, John Lawrence as labourers, all having families (but not in Canada).

There is also a Provision List of 1 July, 1779, at Sorel, which mentions Carscallen, Detlor & Dulmage, but no Heck or Lawrence.

Now to answer some of your queries. I think that I have answered the others in the first part of this letter.

Page 1, 6th para. Sir John Johnson had nothing to do with the group in which you are interested, except that, in 1778, he was shown as C. C. of all Loyalists, purely from an administrative point of view.

2, para 1. Carscallen likely united his 20 men to Sherwood's Coy. of Queen's Loyal Rangers. An evident error on my last page (not mine) says Pfister's.

" 3. I am positive that no Loyalist women were in Canada prior to the late fall of 1777. Indeed, it was only March, 1778, when some of the women were ordered to be transported from Vermont to their husbands in Canada (vide Brisco). It was not until 1779 that New York State enacted the same decree. Also note that the Heck and Lawrence women did not show up in Canada (at least on the Subsistence Lists) until Oct., 1779. There were earlier such Lists in 1778, but no C. V. people.

" 5. These people who were formed into Sir John's regiment were from Johnstown, not Vermont.

" 7. Evidently Heck & Lawrence had escaped, with others, to Canada.

3, " 2. The statement that Sherwood was on parole from Oct. 16 means that he was taken prisoner at the surrender at Saratoga, but was allowed free on parole. In other words, he could not fight again in the war. He did, as you will note earlier in this letter.

The group going to 'M. Bay' meant 1777, not 1776, as I have previously shown from Peters' Subsistence List.

4. See my previous reference to transfer of Pfister's men to Capt. McKay.

5. Mrs. Brisco did not accompany her husband when he went to Canada directly after Saratoga. She went in March, 1778. (The date of the authorisation to take with her certain articles.

5. Commissariat Dep't means army stores.

4 3. It was only on the formation of the 2nd K. R. R. N. Y. in 1781 that there was any connection with Sir John. But, this I have discussed before.

I think that I have answered your queries. The only thing that bothers me is the M. Bay. Look over you references. It is possible that the original MS should read M. Coy. That seems the only solution which would fit with all the other information. It might also explain McKay's fight with the rebels "within 3 miles of Ft. Edward".

I hope that your paper is a success. I am afraid that I cannot make it. You see, we are working on the Museum. Very foolishly, I feel, we made arrangements for an opening long before we were anywhere near being ready to do so. There is so much to do and so few to do it, and all of so ignorant of how to go about it.

Am looking forward to seeing you again

24 May 1962

Dear Dr. Burleigh,

My time for research for the article on the Hecks and Lawrences is up; now I must get sifting and writing. But first may I bother you again re a few points to do with the Revolutionary War? I spent several days doing nothing but trying, from a mass of conflicting evidence, to figure out the movements of these families, and the war activities of the two men, between 1774 and 84. The result is I've learned a lot more about the war--but it surely is complicated!

I said 1774 above because most of the Methodist histories give that year--erroneously, I'm sure--for the Hecks and L's leaving N.Y. Prov. for Canada. In the first place, according to Lawrence's claim, he and Margaret Embury were not married until 1775. He also says he "came within the British lines" in 1775. Since the only action in N.Y. in 1775 was the rebel capture of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, the "British lines" might mean anywhere north of C.P.--but likely St. Johns. Would you agree?

You corrected me when I said the Camden Valley men joined up in 1776. But there is ample proof that they did. First, Paul Heck's claim: "..Charlotte County, where he lived in 1776" (more proof that they did not come to Canada in 1774) "at which time he joined the British Army at Crown Point. 39 Farmers came in at the same time." Also see my Seven Generations p.48 #7 re Edward Carscallen. And John Embury's claim: "joined in '76. Served some time. Served in '77". (Here is the clue, I think.) But first, Hist. of Wash. Co., Everets & Ensign, 1878, p.175 says they enlisted June 1776. John Dulmage's claim says "Joined the Brit. in '76." No

Now what these men did as loyalist recruits in 1776 and in 1777 were two separate deals. And it looks as if some of them, though certainly not all, got their families out in 1776 and wintered with or near them in the parishes around Montreal that year. Lawrences and Hecks likely did this. Although even that is hard to be sure of, since Heck said in his claim, "he had lived on this farm for 7 years" ie Camden Valley. If taken literally, this would mean they did not move off it until the spring of '77. And this could be. He would have been very near it on the way to Bennington, and we know that Brisco, Hawley etc. from Arlington left after that. Fall of 77

No!

The thing which most puzzled me was their relation to Sherwood. In '77 they were nearly all in his corps. (I have copies of returns from Fort Edward with their names, dated Aug. 1777 and June 25, 1777 --although the latter date seems as if it should read 1778!) If you have Col. Jackson's book on Justus Sherwood, you will see on p.3 that he was taken from his home by the rebels Aug. 1776; he was in prison one month; he escaped and fled to the mountains and "within a few days gathered a band of some 40 Loyalists, who had also suffered for..their allegiance. Leading this party some 200 miles through the wilderness, he joined General Guy Carleton at Crown Point in October (my italics) with what he termed the 'first body of Loyalists in America that joined His Majesty's Army'".

Now I had thought this group from the Valley joined Sir John Johnson at Crown Point. Now I think they came with Sherwood. The discrepancy

No

in the June and October dates, however, is still a stumbling block to this theory. It seems hardly likely the men could have been those months in the bush...But I think they knew Sherwood--he was with Allen and Warner (and Crofut who later became a Tory) at the attack on Ti in 1775. And our men would know how Sherwood was treated later by the mob--who were the same gang mistreating them.

Edward Carscallen says he brought in 20 men. Was it to Peters or to Sherwood who joined Peters? The next thing to say is that they likely spent the first few months in any case building boats or roads and gathering supplies. Since the British boats which fought at Valcour in Sept. 1776, came from St. Johns, my guess is that the C.V. men were there, and when Carleton decided to go into winter quarters right after the battle(and after reconnoitering Ti) they spent the winter at St. Johns or Ile aux Noix.

I said earlier they may have spent the winter in the parishes near Montreal. This idea came from assuming they were with Johnson, who left for winter quarters, after building boats, Nov. 2, and did winter in these parishes. Which was it? Or were the women on the Island of Montreal or at Sorel, and the men at St. Johns?

The Loyalist Corps operated from the border for the rest of the war. Sorry, I'll follow this up later.. meantime

On Nov. 17,1776 Carleton wrote to Germain, "Several parties, some with arms, of the inhabitants of N.Y., came into us for refuge. I have joined them to the Corps commanded by Sir John Johnson." Johnson had about 200 Loyalists with him when he escaped to Montreal-from Schuyler. Now, was Robert Leake actually an officer in charge of a corps under Johnson--or just in charge of a party of Loyalists? Or is the truth that Johnson's KRRNY was not organized this soon?(His commission to raise one was dated June 1776 at Chambly.) But I take it it was not really organized that year, and our men were in Peters' QLR. If this is correct, why does Heck always say he served most of the war under Leake?-One Haldimand entry, without date, reads, "Return of Refugee Loyalists in the Province of Quebec, and includes Paul Hicks (sic) from New York, a farmer, one man, one w four ch". This seems to refer to 1776. (Hald. B166 p.197) It suggests he was in a party of loyalists, but not a regiment.

Now to try to untangle what they were doing in 1777 is even worse. But this is what I think. I wish you would comment. In the summer Heck and Lawrence seem to have been employed in Capt. McKay's corps of "Battoe Men" for 90 days. Heck's name is on a list in Haldimand of the Loyal Colunteers under "the late Capn. Samuel McKay". (I must ask in Ottawa if Lawrence is on this list too.) This corps was employed bringing supplies down the Hudson and McKay lost his life during the operations. But do you know, were there two British officers, McKay--Samuel and John? Next they seem to have joined the QLR under Pfister (is he the same as De Peyster?) and fought at Bennington until the defeat Aug. 16. Col. Pfister was killed at Bennington with 137 men.

Six days later they were in Sherwood's Co. I have this list on a microfilm from Albany, where Peters' Papers are. (Why would they be there, rather than at Ottawa?) Opposite the names of Heck and Lawrence in this return are the words,"Missing since the defeat", (at Bennington). John and Andrew Embury were others & John Dulmage missing. But apparently they were not prisoners, or were not known to be, since several other names are marked as "prisoners," on the list.

I know there was much confusion, and many desertions. And Peters' resentment began then, when more than half of the men he needed to insure his commission "were either killed or taken before they had been even formally mustered". (Thos, Lampee in article in Proceedings of the Vermont Hist. Soc. June 1938) He was a descendant of Peter Miller of Camden Valley and wrote of Miller's activities during the war--very helpful to me.

Next was Saratoga. Sherwood was wounded, made prisoner, then exchanged. Commissioned Capt. in QLR. It seems that Heck and Lawrence were at Saratoga. According to Peters' Papers, however, there is the most intriguing list of 3rd Co. QLR commanded by Cap't. Justus Sherwood, which includes 18 men from the Valley, is dated June 25, 1777 and listed under caption "Justus Sherwood Prisoner on parole since 16th Oct.". This is the list I think should read 1778, because it would be Oct. 1777, after Saratoga, when Sherwood was made prisoner. But the rest of the men, with a few exceptions, have after their names the following:"gone to M.Bay 22nd August". That's all. So if 1777, June 25, is correct, it means they went to "M.Bay" Aug. '76; if it should read June 25, 1778, then they went to M.Bay Aug. '77. In either case it would mean that they were not at Saratoga! And "M. Bay" can only mean Mississquoi, where Peter Miller later settled, and over which there was so much conflict between Haldimand and several officers, including Peters,later on.

I wish I knew what that trip was for. Were they sent by Sherwood at that early date on some mission of intelligence? Were they thinking of settling there? How could they have avoided fighting at Saratoga, if they were not on some service for the British? See Seven Generations p.48 again #8. This makes no mention of Sherwood. And it says they left the corps 22 Aug. 1777. If that is when they went to M.Bay, they must have gone thinking they were through with the army, and to settle. I have looked carefully again at the List of 3rd Co. QLR mentioned above. And I think it could be read to mean that June 25 was the day they all joined --not the date the return was made.

In same papers a monthly return for June 1778 shows that 15 men who had enlisted in Aug. to Capt. Sherwood's Co. were in May 1778 serving with Capt. Sam. McKay--whom I thought was dead before that. Peters never knew who was with him and who was not, as you must have read, his men were always being "stolen" by other officers. But what do you make of this? (No Camden Valley names here--in fact, no names.)

Whether they were at Saratoga or not, they probably never saw the enemy again, until some of them were in the Mohawk raids (but not Heck or Lawrence). As you know the Loyalist recruits were given permission the night before the Saratoga convention was signed to go to Canada. Sherwood came directly after Saratoga with the party including Jehiel Hawley and Brisco from Arlington (ie Mrs. Brisco). So others of the people of the area likely came then too, though I think it too late for Hecks or Lawrences. Apparently it was after arriving in Canada this time that Sherwood was employed to procure intelligence. And of course many of the C.V. men were back with him then--whatever they were doing in the meantime. But not Heck. He got his discharge in 1778. I wish I knew why. And Lawrence went into the Commissariat Dep't in Montreal. Does that mean army stores, or officers' mess?